

Women's Franchise.

No. 45.

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enmity was one of the causes which led to the recent Government defeats. If Mr. King honestly believes in the justice of the principle of Women's Suffrage, it is difficult to see how he can conscientiously adopt an antagonistic position. However, his support was purely platonic; the cause of Women's Suffrage will progress all the same. The voters in his constituency, however, have something to say with regard to his action, for the following resolution was carried, with only two dissentients, at a public meeting held at Alderley Edge, in his constituency, the day after his letter appeared: "That in view of the need that women have for the protection of the vote and their increasing demand for it, their enfranchisement is a measure of prime importance, which should no longer be delayed." This meeting, which was held under the joint auspices of the Knutsford Division of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, included at least as many men as women.

Notice to Subscribers and Contributors.

May Subscriptions are now due. Weekly Numbers, 1d. a week post free. Quarterly Subscriptions, 1s. 8d.; yearly, 6s. 6d. Back Numbers can still be obtained, but the Number for January 30th is very scarce, and costs 3d.

Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage should be addressed to the Editor, who will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,

13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

The paper is on sale at Messrs. Smith & Son's Depots.

Notes.

AN unexpected support to our cause was given at the Shakespeare League Dinner on the 23rd ult. Dr. Furnivall was in the chair, and the Poet Laureate, and Sir John Hare were to be the speakers. The latter failed at the last minute, and Mrs. Stopes was asked to give an address in his place. Being on her own ground, she did so, and the audience were very enthusiastic. At the close Dr. Furnivall rose and said: "After this, remember that Mrs. Stopes has no vote."

MISS BENETT, of Burslem, Staffs, who has protested against taxation without representation by refusing to pay her house tax, had a visit on April 30th from the bailiffs, who distrained table silver of the value of at least 3l. as security for 27s., the amount of the tax and expenses. The bailiffs performed their task courteously, and Miss Benett offered no resistance. She expects to be in Dundee, helping at the by-election, on Saturday, 9th, when her goods will probably be sold by public auction. Friends of the cause may be able to organize a demonstration then. If not, there will be one on Miss Benett's return.

WE note that Mr. A. J. King, M.P., "publicly withdraws all promises of support to any measure of Women's Suffrage" on account of the hostile attitude adopted towards the Government by a section of the Women's Suffrage party. Mr. King's action clearly shows us that he thinks that party's

A CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY WOMEN'S SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE has been started by those of the staff and students of Newnham and Girton Colleges who are in favour of Women's Suffrage. We hope that the society will receive the cordial and active support of former students. The university women of this country are an important body, and if they will unite in demanding the Parliamentary Vote, it will be an important step towards proving that women desire it. The Society is affiliated to the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, and will be represented at the Quarterly Meetings of the National Union. Associates are asked to subscribe a minimum of one shilling annually, to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, D. Wollersen, Girton College. The Hon. Sec. is Frances E. Rendell, Newnham College.

THE signatures on many of the petitions that have been presented to Parliament for and against the Licensing Bill have been challenged. Members have drawn attention to the fact that in the petitions the same handwriting appears over and over again among the names. When the petition against Women's Suffrage was presented to Parliament last year, the Women's Franchise Declaration Committee were the first to draw public attention to the same thing, and it was owing to their inquiries that the astonishing information was elicited that only twelve out of the much-vaunted twenty-one thousand names could be accepted as valid. Not only were whole groups in the same handwriting, but the others did not conform to the necessary rules which must be observed in petitioning the House of Commons. These rules are necessary, but they greatly increase the difficulty and the time occupied in obtaining signatures. As the speed with which the names are collected is invariably a point emphasized by the petitioners, the custom of presenting a petition *before* it has been officially examined and passed, instead of after, is a bad one. It misleads public opinion, and should be altered.

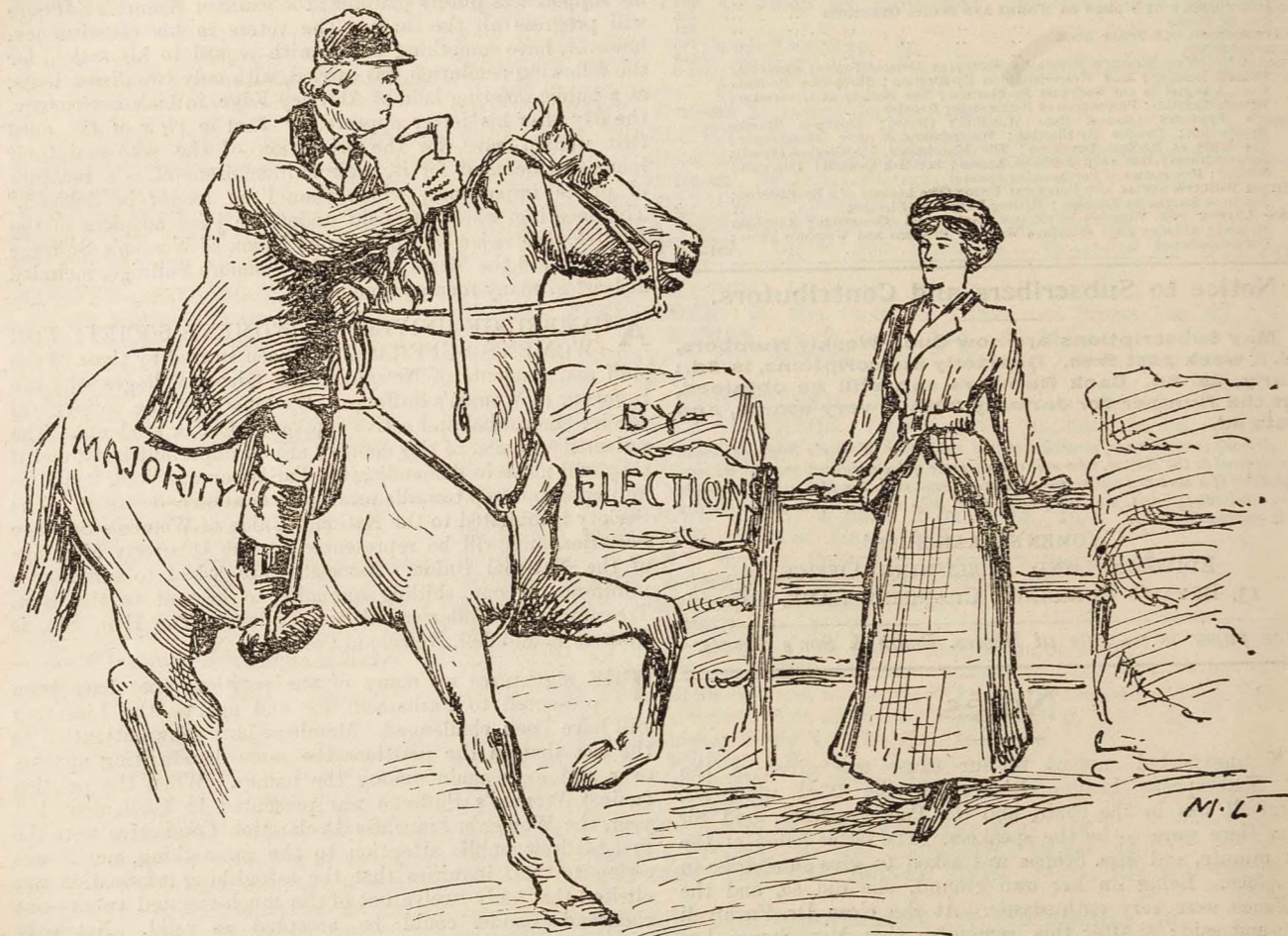
IT is interesting to note that the successful candidates at Peckham and Manchester both publicly acknowledge the great influence the question of Women's Suffrage had in determining the result of these elections. Our friend *The Hereford Times* remarks in this connexion, "A number of good and eloquent women daily and hourly speaking in a constituency are bound to build up a strong public opinion. These women gave utterance to a hundred home truths outside party politics—moral truths, political truths, democratic truths—which went

straight to men's hearts and minds, or reached them through the happy medium of wives, sisters, mothers, and sweet-hearts."

THE monthly meeting of members and friends of the Women's Reform Union, Bristol, was held at the office, 104, Whiteladies Road, on May 1st. Miss Priestman presided, and an address was given by Miss Geraldine Hodgson, B.A., who emphasized the arguments for Women's Suffrage on the grounds of justice, the economic point of view, and the need for women's voice in social legislation. The monthly report was given, and plans for future work were discussed, the most urgent at present being arrangements for the procession on June 13th. It was announced that a special excursion train

be of powerful proportions. The chair is to be taken at five o'clock by Mrs. Fawcett. Tickets for the Hall may be obtained from Miss Strachey, 25, Victoria Street, S.W., and range from 5s. to 6d.

WE propose to offer a lady's or gentleman's cycle of the highest grade, built to the measurements required by the successful competitor by the Mead Cycle Co., and priced by them at £13 10s., as a prize for the design sent in which is judged by the Proprietor, assisted by members of the Artists' Suffrage League (non-competitors), to be the most suitable as a heading for our paper. The said design should be 8 by 4 or multiples of the same, and may be executed in black-and-white wash, or black-



MR. ASQUITH: "Hi, you there! Out of the way, please."

SHE: "Pas si bête."

[With apologies to 'Mr. Punch.'

would be run on that day from Bristol and the neighbourhood, and it was hoped that a good number of members would be able to go.

IT is interesting to know that the Editor of *The Law Times*, having seen Mrs. Stopes's books, invited her to lay the case for Women's Suffrage before his readers in its constitutional aspect. Her article on 'Women and Representation' duly appeared in the issue of *The Law Times*, April 25th, 1908.

THE Albert Hall demonstration and mass march thither from the Embankment near Northumberland Avenue, organized by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which is to take place on Saturday afternoon, June 13th, promises to

and-white line drawing, or plaster drawing. Figures, &c., may be introduced, and a space may be left blank for a motto, but the words *Women's Franchise* must stand out boldly and be simple in form. The latest date for receiving will be June 6th, and all competitors must address their contributions to this office headed "Competition," and accompanied by a separate slip of paper on which alone must appear the name and address, or other indication of the personality of the sender. Competitors will be understood to relinquish all rights over their designs so soon as they are received at the office of this paper.

WE have received from Mrs. K. St. O. Eustace Smith subscription for six months on behalf of the Chelmsford Free Library.

The Suffrage in Other Lands.

ITALY.—The First National Congress of Italian women, held at Rome from April 23rd to 30th, proved even more successful than was anticipated. A thousand delegates from every part of Italy and many other countries were gathered together on the Capitol, that historic spot where so many of the world's great movements have taken birth. Perhaps this Congress, too, is the beginning of great things, for if the Italian women have been slow in coming into line with those of other countries, their adhesion has been complete, and their progress little short of amazing. It was no small thing that the Municipal Buildings should have been placed at the disposal of the Congress, which was further honoured by the presence at the opening of the Queen, the Princess Letitia, the Syndic of Rome, and the Minister of Education. The Roman papers published careful reports of the proceedings, even the comic journals thought them worth caricaturing. Henceforth the women's movement in Italy is a thing to be reckoned with, and the women's party a force in the land.

Of the many subjects discussed none aroused greater enthusiasm than the Suffrage. This was discussed in full session, introduced by a speech written by the Sectional President, Donna Giacinta Martini. Prolonged applause greeted the closing words, "Believe and hope; this is above all necessary for us. Believe, believe, believe. Have faith in the final triumph of our cause. Combine, organize, work with that enthusiasm which springs from confidence in victory. This is our greatest need, and our meeting will have been productive of real good if when we are once more separated we remain united in faith and concord."

The subject was discussed under five main headings:—

1. What economic, civil, and social interests can woman defend by means of the vote, and what advantage will she gain on all domains by electoral rights?
2. What influence can be brought to bear on the Government and Parliament in order to obtain the franchise for women?
3. How to educate women to exercise their votes.
4. Why Women's Suffrage meets with so much opposition.
5. What results have been obtained in those countries where women have already won the vote?

Prof. Anita Dobelli, who introduced the first, pointed out the important part that women's work occupied in the community. "No matter on what domain she exercises her activity, she must always in the end be brought into collision with two forces—the administrative and the legislative. She is compelled to seek their protection, and she meets with the reception which is always accorded to those who have no means of securing their rights, because in a representative government they are represented only indirectly. For this reason alone women demand the vote, because, as matters stand to-day, the vote is the only direct means of influencing and controlling the actions of those who are called on to make the laws." In the course of the discussion one of the deputies, Signor Mirabelli, called on the women to agitate for the vote. "The great conquests of civilization are not won by begging, but wrested by force," was his theme, and it found an echo in the hearts of his audience. When, at the end of the session, the resolution was put to the meeting, only five persons were found to vote against it. This was the wording of the resolution: "The Congress of Italian Women, on the initiative of the Committee for Women's Suffrage, calls upon the Legislature to confer the administrative and political vote on women on the same terms as it is granted to men, and calls upon its members to enter on a continuous propaganda, individually and collectively, in order that the aspirations of many may become the possession of all." A. ZIMMERN.

FURTHER ADDITIONS TO THE 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE' FUND.

	£	s.	d.
Callender, Miss Dorice .. .. .	..	..	..
Kettle, Mr. F. .. .. .	..	..	..
Fritchard, Miss Emma .. .. .	..	..	..
Spicer, Sir Albert .. .. .	..	..	..
	£11	6	6

Obituary.

THE cause of Women's Suffrage has lost a firm friend in Mrs. Pechey Phipson, M.D., whose death was briefly recorded in our columns last week. Mrs. Phipson was one of the pioneers who fought for the admission of women into the medical profession. In 1869, at the age of twenty-three, she applied to the University of Edinburgh for permission to study medicine, and she was among the first five who matriculated in that year. Her subsequent career was a brilliant one, and fully justified the assertion that women are eminently suited to enter the medical profession.

She passed a brilliant examination in arts, and then attended lectures in physiology and chemistry. In the latter she came out third, and first of her year, the two men above her being second year students. She was thus entitled to one of the Hope scholarships, which was refused her, solely on account of her sex. In 1877 Miss Pechey took a diploma from the Irish College of Physicians, and also obtained the M.D. of the University of Berne, for at that time no English University granted degrees to women. She practised for a few years in Leeds. In 1882 she was appointed Senior Physician to the newly started Kama Hospital for Women in Bombay. Here she did splendid work, and it is greatly owing to her talent for organization that the standard of hospital nursing in India has been raised. The strain on her health, however, was very great, and after ten years of incessant labour she was obliged to resign. She had previously married Mr. Herbert Phipson, who shared her scientific tastes. Her great mental gifts were fully recognized, and she was appointed a member of the Senate of Bombay University.

Mrs. Pechey Phipson was a member of the Executive Committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Her help in matters connected with the improvement of women's position could always be counted upon, and her enthusiastic championship of Women's Suffrage has done much to forward our cause.

The Indifference of Women on Women and Social Questions.

A FEW weeks ago, when the "Brown Dog" campaigners were occupying their spare time by breaking up Suffrage meetings, a suburban editor remarked that the "sensational" methods adopted by the Suffragettes themselves showed their need to advertise "a dying cause"!

The statement so often made by the press and by certain Cabinet Ministers that women, as a whole, do not demand the Suffrage, is one of those points that require consideration. Every one who has canvassed for "the cause" must know that there is a certain amount of truth in it. Those found to be absolutely antagonistic to the movement are very few, but now and again one comes across women who are absolutely indifferent to the question of their own enfranchisement, and who frankly admit that they have never given the matter a single thought.

In spite of the splendid propaganda work accomplished by our great Suffrage societies during the last two or three years, it is obviously impossible for our workers to come into personal touch with every woman in the United Kingdom. It is far more unreasonable to find fault with the Suffragists for not converting all the members of their own sex than it would be to blame the Church of England for not converting the whole country to practical Christianity.

Very many women never go to a public meeting of any kind; they may never have had the opportunity of reading our literature, and if, moreover, they have no personal friends interested in "votes for women," how is it possible for them to form any true opinion of the facts at issue?

"I know nothing about the Suffragists, except that they generally seem in some contention," wrote Miss Mary Anderson (Madame de Navarro) in reply to a request for an opinion on the Suffragettes, instituted by a popular weekly. Since her retirement from the stage Miss Mary Anderson has lived, apart from the world, in a pretty Warwickshire village on the banks of the Avon. As reports of the peaceful and educative side of the

woman's movement so seldom find space in the press—which enlarges so plentifully on sensational incidents—we can easily understand that this lady's point of view is one very general among those who live "far from the madding crowd."

Very often, but not invariably, the woman who takes no interest in the Suffrage is equally indifferent to other great social questions. The latter are commented on and reported by the press, with a certain amount of fairness, but from an exclusively masculine standpoint.

Turning to the papers and magazines published for the benefit of the fair sex, we find that all serious questions are practically eliminated from their pages. Fashion, the toilet, table decorations, social gossip, and sentimental stories form the main ingredients of these periodicals, a bare half column being devoted to art and literature. Ample space is allotted to reports of philanthropic enterprises, bazaars, and so forth, especially when the promoters of these enterprises happen to be ladies of social standing—titled women for preference.

Although staffed by women, these papers are managed and financed by men. The most successful of lady journalists is unable to place a paragraph in favour of Women's Suffrage if the owners of this particular journal are opposed to it. Owing to our unfair laws of succession and other reasons, women are not capitalists to any great extent. Something might be effected through co-operation, and probably will be so effected, when the mists of indifference have been cleared from our mental horizon.

The owners of periodicals must, however, study the question of demand and supply. They must consider the interests of their readers, although much of the fashion news and toilet hints are written to influence lucrative advertisements. Here it is that every Suffrage worker can, at a very small cost of time and trouble, give these autocrats of the press an interesting object lesson.

Whenever a misleading article appears, whenever an important Suffrage meeting is ignored, write to the editor of the paper, calling him to account. Your letter may not be published, but, sooner or later, an article or paragraph will appear very different in tone to the preceding one. Suffrage news will be commented on where it was formerly ignored; and fair play, at least, will be given to the question of "votes for women."

Another large class of ladies admit plaintively that, of course, "they ought to have a vote," but are too indolent or indifferent to raise a finger to get it. Others may do the work that they may reap the benefit. To these we should say, in the words of Adelaide A. Procter:—

Rise, for the day is passing,
And you lie dreaming on,
The others have buckled their armour
And forth to the fight are gone.
A place in the ranks awaits you,
Each one has some part to play;
The past and the future are nothing
In the face of the stern do-day.

E. H. B.

Reviews of Books.

The House of Lords. By J. Wylie. (Arnold, Fairbairns & Co.) THIS book is the first of a new series of historical sketches designed to help students of current social and political questions rightly to understand the historic facts on which alone sound opinions on the subject can be based. It is written clearly, succinctly, is laudably free from inaccuracy, and occasionally humorous. After sketching the growth of the House of Lords out of nebulousness through the periods of Tudor despotism, the Commonwealth, Restoration, and Georges, we come to a chapter headed 'The Reform Bill and After,' the opening paragraphs of which we venture to paraphrase by way of commentary. (Supposed time, after the passing of a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill.)

Of the many reforms put forward at that time "Women's Suffrage" was not unreasonably regarded by women as a thing to be first secured as a condition precedent to the securing

of all the rest. Everything that was asked seemed wild and revolutionary, but there was hardly anything that time has not proved to be entirely reasonable and essential to decent government. No man now attempts to defend the exclusively male franchise system which was at the time declared by some to be the only safeguard against family ruin and the utter destruction of the country. The debates on the "Women's Franchise" Bills must be read if the position is to be fully appreciated. . . . As for the agitation in the country, that was nothing—a mere factious, artificial thing to be suppressed by a little firm government.

Do the words seem fantastic and impossible, or do they seem to spell out a page of history, which is even now "in the press"?

The book closes with a reminder of the resolution brought forward by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman on June 26th, 1907, touching the proposed reformation of the House of Lords in order to "give effect to the will of the people." Till women, like men, are able to express their will by means of elected representatives, it is obvious that effect cannot possibly be given to the will of the people. To pretend to ignore this fact is as ridiculous as it is dishonest and immoral. We hope that in any future volume on the House of Commons, where the subject of "representative government" must figure necessarily very largely, this question of the will of the "people" will be fully dealt with.

Mirth in Heaven. By MARY MOORE. (Henry J. Drane.)

THE "Epistle of Grace to the Philistines," which deals point for point with the arguments of a well-known anti-suffragist, has little to do with this excellent story, of which it forms but a minor episode; it is not, however, for us to complain, since it provides us with an excuse for reviewing Mrs. Moore's novel in these columns. 'Mirth in Heaven' (that Heaven where, so the great poet tells us, earthly things made even atone together) introduces us to some of the most charming creations in recent fiction. A peerless mother and her perfect son, meet us in the dingy attic of the first chapter, and the scene closes upon the prettiest of romances, the penniless girl, illegitimate daughter as she believed herself to be of a famous soldier-hero, finding that no such stigma attaches to her birth, and that nothing prevents her realizing the happiness opening before her. Craftsmanship seems lacking in the making of the book, but it arrests attention by its sincerity and naturalness, its grace, tenderness, beauty and pathos. The tragedy of the shooting of the betrayer, and drowning of the betrayed—that all too frequent outcome of our present iniquitous inequalities, is poignantly related and dramatically satisfying. Our readers will do well to provide themselves with copies of this novel.

Legions of the Dawn. By ALLAN REETH. (Fisher Unwin.)

It is as well that our movement should be depicted in current fiction in lighter as well as in more serious vein. Had this extravaganza been compressed into half as many pages as it now covers our welcome would have been less doubtfully expressed. As it is we hesitate to recommend this somewhat heavy material as light holiday reading. Some 300 odd pages deal almost exclusively with military enterprises carried on by glittering amazons in the Land of the Dawn, a certain imaginary African oasis named Sah, made impregnable under gynarchical conditions by modern weapons. In this land it had been decided by a picked band of a hundred women settlers, strong capable women each skilled in some special trade, that the male children of the widows amongst them should be brought up rigidly to housework and dressed in long robes after the age of ten. This reversal of usual conditions, as seen through the eyes of A. Smith, Esq., M.B., who is admitted to Sah under solemn pledge of obedience to the Republic, is cleverly sustained and provides, more especially perhaps in the chapters relating to matters sartorial, food for much amusing—and some cynical—reflection.

Hermione: a Knight of the Holy Ghost. By EDITH SEARLE GROSSMANN. (Watts & Co.)

OUR first word of commendation must be given to the publishers, who have here given us a reprint of one of the finest novels of

the woman movement ever written, well bound and well printed for the moderate price of half-a-crown.

The problem round which the story centres is that of un-holy matrimony, and the cruelty, misery, and wrong to which its victims are doomed. As literature the book ranks high; there is no slovenly writing, no inartistic crudities, but characterization, dialogue, and situations are alike deftly and powerfully handled. There is much reading in the book, but the development of the study is so well done that it engrosses the attention of the reader from first to last. No more welcome gift from one thinking woman to another than this readily occurs to mind.

An Interesting Old Scrap Book.

MANY years ago I found by accident in the British Museum an old scrap-book (numbered 806 b. 1. 60) which contained many pamphlets published at the time of the threatened French Invasion in 1803. Some of these are of interest to women in their present struggle. For instance there is No. 1. "To the Women of England on their contributing to the Patriotic Fund." No. 8. "To the Men of England, by an Englishwoman." 9. "A Parody, by an honest Englishwoman." 34. "Alfred's Address to the Ladies of England." There is also preserved "Old England to her Daughters."

"Shakespeare's Ghost," or the words he said to Englishmen to repel invaders, "The Royal throne of Kings, this sceptred Isle," Rich. II. "A Plan of a female Association for preserving Liberty and Property," which refers to Elizabeth, &c.

"A declaration of those rights of the Commonalty of Great Britain without which they cannot be free," does not explicitly mention women, but implies that they are included in the statements.

"3rd. That liberty or freedom, consists in having an actual share in the appointing those who frame the laws.

"4th. They who have no voice nor vote in the electing of Representatives do not enjoy liberty, but are absolutely enslaved to those who have votes, and to their representatives, for to be enslaved is to have governors whom other men have set over us; and to be subject to laws made by the representatives of others, without having representatives of our own to give consent on our behalf." Every educated woman recognises this fact to-day, thus laid before the people in 1803.

CHARLOTTE C. STOPES.

Correspondence.

[The Proprietors of "WOMEN'S FRANCHISE" do not necessarily identify themselves in any way with the opinions expressed by their Correspondents.]

Women and the Income Tax.

DEAR SIR,—The illustration quoted in your last issue, showing the hardships to which women are subject in respect of Income Tax regulations, is very interesting, and might be enlarged upon at great length.

An even worse case occurred recently, when forty male passive resisters of Income Tax were summoned, and the usual distress warrants granted against them.

One man was stated to have no property on which distress could be levied, and the magistrate thereupon ordered that his wife's goods should be seized in payment of the tax.

I should like to call attention also to the invidious distinction made by the law between the domestic woman and the business woman, in permitting the latter only to be separately assessed in respect of her income. For instance, John, a City clerk, earning 130*l.* a year, marries Mary, of no occupation, but possessing an annuity of 60*l.* a year. Neither have previously paid Income Tax, but on marrying, their combined income is assumed to belong to John, and becomes liable for Income Tax. On the other hand, Edwin, another City clerk, earning 160*l.* a year, marries Angelina, a lady dispenser, earning also 160*l.* a year, and who continues in her profession after marriage. As she earns her income, it is assumed to belong to her, and she is entitled to be assessed

by herself, therefore no Income Tax is payable by either party, although their total income is 130*l.* more than that of the other couple.

In the eye of the law the caring for a home and the rearing of a family do not entitle a married woman to the same consideration that she would receive if she were running a milliner's shop, or rearing poultry for the market.

As we hear so constantly that "woman's place is in the home," we might reasonably expect to find that it would be the woman in business who would be penalized, rather than her home-keeping sister.

I am, Yours faithfully,
ETHEL M. PURDIE,
Accountant and Auditor.

A Forgotten Dictum on Women.

IN his small but illumined treatise, 'De l'Education des Filles,' the Abbé de Fénelon furnished the supporters of women's advancement with one of the most powerful weapons ever polished for them, by friend or foe. Translated, it runs: "Men themselves, even though they have all the authority in public, cannot establish any effectual system of right if women will not help them to carry it out." It is needless to suggest the many avenues of thought opened up by these words: the intelligent readers of *Women's Franchise* will perceive them for themselves.

I have never seen or heard this passage quoted; yet could weightier homage be paid to women's influence? And its weight, of course, resides in its perfect, its absolute truth.

GERALDINE HODGSON.

Competitions.

134, Portsdown Road, W.

DEAR SIR,—In a provincial newspaper sent me recently, I notice that the Peace and Arbitration Society are extending their propaganda work by means of organizing a competition, offering prizes for the best essay on the Peace question.

Why should not our Suffrage societies arrange similar competitions through the local and suburban papers? The secretary of each branch could supply literature to those entering the contest, and a small entrance fee (3*d.* or 6*d.*) might be charged to cover expenses.

The prizes need not be large—say 10*s.* and 5*s.* for the best and second best essays respectively. The addresses of competitors would be useful in finding recruits for the Men's League or for the local Suffrage societies, also in ascertaining in which districts there is a demand for new branches. Yours truly,

E. H. B.

"Allegories."

MADAM,—I think that it is high time that Truth should prevail in allegories—whether political and otherwise. I beg to call your attention to the central figure of a political cartoon on the Licensing Bill, published in *The Daily Chronicle*. It is a woman (Britannia), she is a large impressive figure, holding a sword in her hand, fighting the Monster Drink, while the children are clinging round her person. This allegorical woman, so poetically represented in front of a large banner is an allegorical misrepresentation of the Truth. What power has the Liberal Government given to the real woman, the living woman, the human woman to combat this monster—Drink? She should be represented under its feet—groaning in her agony and impotence. I confess I am disgusted at all the talk of "Reforms," "Liberalism," "Truth," and "Justice," when the greater half of humanity is only entitled to these things "allegorically," and one thing is certain, before any Reform can succeed, Truth must prevail.

Your obedient servant,
MAUD ARNCLIFFE SENNETT.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

OBJECT.—To obtain the Parliamentary Suffrage for Women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to Men.

The Union is a Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Great Britain.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Secretary: MISS MARGERY CORBETT, B.A.

Treasurer: MISS BERTHA MASON.

Organiser: MISS GARDNER.

Hon. Secretaries: MISS FRANCES HARDCASTLE, M.A. MISS FRANCES STERLING.
Telegrams: "VOICELESS, LONDON."

Telephone: 1900 VICTORIA.

OFFICES: 25, VICTORIA STREET, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

The Union will send Organising Agents, Speakers, or Literature to any place requiring them, its desire being to form a Women's Suffrage Society in every County and Borough. All persons interested in the movement, or desiring information about it, are requested to communicate with the Secretaries. Increased Funds are needed for the growing work of the Union, and Subscriptions will be gladly received by the Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1908.

Chairman—MR. WALTER S. B. McLAREN.

MISS MARGARET ASHTON
THE LADY FRANCES BALFOUR
MISS FLORENCE BALGARNIE
MRS. ALLAN BRIGHT

MR. A. CAMERON CORBETT M.P.
MISS EDITH DIMOCK
MISS I. O. FORD
MISS MARTINDALE, M.B., B.S.

MRS. BROADLEY REID
HON. BERTRAND RUSSELL
MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN

LADY STRACHEY
And the Hon. Officers,
ex officio.

Current Topics.

WORK for the Procession is now in full swing all over the country, and enthusiastic reports are received from the provinces. Special day excursions will be run on June 13th from different parts of the country, and full details of the prices of tickets, &c., will be published later.

Supporters who wish to secure seats in the Albert Hall are recommended to apply at once, as there is already a large demand. A limited number of boxes will be available at the following prices: Loggias for eight, 1l. 15s.; Grand Tier for twenty, 5l. 5s.; for ten, 2l. 12s. 6d.; First Tier for twenty, 4l. 4s.; for ten, 2l. 2s.; for five, 1l. 1s., besides ordinary seats at 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.

There will be the first of a series of practice debates at the office on May 13th at 4.30. All members desirous of practice in speaking are cordially invited to attend. A fee of 6d. will be charged each time. Mrs. Brownlow will take the chair, and the discussions will be on Mrs. Stopes's book 'British Freewomen.'

In a column article devoted entirely to the Wolverhampton election, *The Times* of May 1st remarks: "Another remarkable feature of the election is the propaganda for Woman Suffrage which is interwoven through it." The writer refers in complimentary terms to the "bands of able and enthusiastic women who are really indefatigable in addressing street corner meetings, and distributing leaflets." In mentioning the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, *The Times* explains that it is "working neither for the one nor for the other, but is making the election a favourable opportunity for influencing public opinion by quiet and reasoned argument in propaganda matters at meetings. Nevertheless, it may be counted among the forces working against Alderman Thorne, for voters who are convinced by it that rate-paying women are entitled to the vote as well as rate-paying men, must think the Liberal Government is doing an injustice in denying them the franchise."

A dinner is being arranged by the Women's Local Government Society, which will take place on the 21st inst. at the Trocadero Restaurant. Dr. Shipman, M.P., will preside, and the speeches will deal with the present position of women in local government, and the lines on which the Society is working to bring about further reforms. It is hoped that ladies will act as hostesses and bring parties of friends. For further information apply to Hon. Sec., Mrs. Theodore Williams, 2, Upper Brook Street, London, W.

A vacancy has lately occurred on the Kensington Borough Council (Holland Ward), and a lady (Miss Pickton) is contesting the seat. She already has the support of many leading residents in the Borough, as well as the Kensington Local Government Association, and her committee are preparing for a stiff contest. Helpers are urgently required both for canvassing and clerical work (more particularly for canvassing), and volunteers calling at Miss Pickton's Committee Rooms, 54B, Church Street, Kensington, will receive a hearty welcome. The polling day has been fixed for May 14th. Miss Pickton is standing on non-party lines entirely, and her supporters are of every shade of political opinion.

At the annual meeting of the general council of the Birkenhead Liberal Association, held on the 13th ult., a resolution was proposed by Mrs. Abraham in the following terms: "That this meeting strongly urges the Government to grant facilities for the passing of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill this session, in accordance with the mandate given in the House of Commons on February 28th." After some discussion, an amendment was carried, expressing the opinion that the time was not opportune for legislation in this direction. We hope our society at Birkenhead will induce the members of the Liberal Association to alter their views.

Mr. George A. Touche, prospective Conservative candidate for North Islington, dealt principally with the question of Women's Suffrage at a meeting recently held by the North Islington Conservative Association. He pointed out that the movement had now become such a living factor in politics that it could not be ignored, and he allowed that the Suffragists had exercised an immense influence in the results of the recent by-elections. He strongly upheld the proposals put forth in its favour, and expressed his belief that the cause would triumph. His speech was listened to with much interest. We hope that if there were any women among his hearers they will join the National Union.

Quarterly Council Meeting.

MRS. FAWCETT presided at the quarterly council meeting held on the 1st inst., in the Reading Room of Olympia, by the kind permission of Mr. Taylor. She expressed our deep sense of loss in the death of Mrs. Pechey Phipson, and emphasized her strong belief, which was arrived at from personal experience, in the grand results of our election policy. We are dispelling ignorance all over the country, and the splendid attitude of hitherto keen party women who are sacrificing everything to the work for a vote is impressing the average elector.

The report stated that the work of the Union was increasing enormously. In the last three months nine strong societies had been formed, and had entered the Union, and four more were on the point of doing so. The National Union had taken part in ten by-elections in England only during the last quarter, with the result that candidates were now mentioning Women's Suffrage in their election addresses as a matter of course. The Artists' Suffrage League, the Writers' Suffrage League, and the newly formed Conservative and Unionist Women's Suffrage League were doing magnificent work. Money for more work was appealed for, and a generous response was made from the meeting. Arrangements for the Procession on June 13th, Women's Suffrage Day, were keenly discussed and settled, and various resolutions for extending the usefulness of the Union were brought forward and dealt with in a manner which showed the members realized that, as Mrs. Philip Snowden said, "We are the greatest political movement of the day in England." The delegates present represented the National Union Societies at Birkenhead, Birmingham, Bournemouth, Bradford, Brighton, Bristol, Bucks, Cambridge, Cambridge University Women, (Girton and Newnham), Cheltenham, Fleet, Haslemere, Huddersfield, Hull, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, London, Manchester, Newcastle, Nottingham, Oxford, Sevenoaks, Southampton, Tewkesbury, Warwick and Leamington, Whitby, York, Edinburgh, and Glasgow.

25, Victoria Street, S.W.

M. I. CORBETT, Sec.,

East Wolverhampton By-Election.

If ever a place stands in need of conversion it is Wolverhampton, and I am afraid that it will take more than one by-election to do it. With a few honourable exceptions, all the men think that women ought to "keep their place," and the women are for the most part quite content to be kept there. A far larger percentage of people than I have met anywhere else draw away or make disagreeable remarks when we hand them leaflets in the street. To add to our anxiety, two days of pelting rain made outdoor meetings almost impossible; while the arrival of summer on May 1st had somewhat the same effect on those indoors.

We opened our committee-room on Tuesday at 13, Broad Street. On one side of us is the Free Food Union, on the other we again have the Coal Consumers' Defence League. Further down the street are the Women's Freedom League and the Women's Social and Political Union. Members of these tell me that they all agree that Wolverhampton is the most depressing place they have ever worked.

The candidates have replied to our questions as follows: Mr. Amery said, "With regard to your questions, my answer to numbers 1 and 2 is, Yes.

1. If elected will you vote for a Bill to extend the franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men?—Yes.

2. Will you declare yourself in favour of Women's Suffrage on the above terms in your election address?—Yes. As regards the remaining questions:—

3. Will you sign a requisition to your party leaders asking them to take up this question at the earliest possible moment?

4. If elected, will you ballot for a place for a Bill on the above terms on the opening day of the session?

5. Will you mention Women's Suffrage in your speeches?

6. Will you oppose any further extension of the franchise for men unless it includes the extension of the franchise to women?—My action must be determined by circumstances.

Mr. Thorn answered "I am already a publicly pledged supporter of the extension of the franchise to women. I do not believe in the sex distinction, and contend that whatever qualifies a man to vote should qualify a woman. But I strongly oppose plural voting for men, and have done, and intend to do, all I can to secure that no man shall have more than one vote. I could not, therefore, support any proposal which would extend plural voting to women. But on the basis of one vote only I am certainly in favour of extending the franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

2. I have already in public declared my adhesion to the above expressed view, and have no objection to include same in address.

3. Yes.

4. Yes; where occasion serves.

5. Yes; you will observe I have already done so.

6. I cannot pledge myself to vote against any extension of the Suffrage on democratic lines. If a Bill should come before Parliament dealing with male enfranchisement only, however, I should certainly support an amendment to apply its provisions to women.

It is probable that the candidates are in advance of the constituents.

We have had some very good meetings. On Wednesday, at the Red Cross Street schools, and on Thursday, at the Willenhall Road schools, we had the room full. On the latter occasion several men had come armed with horns and hooters, but they were so skilfully managed by Miss Ashton and the policeman that only one blast disturbed the peace. When the fine weather began, our audiences were not so good; but we had the satisfaction of knowing that they were as good as those of other people.

The outdoor meetings, on the whole, have been very successful. One night Mrs. Cooper and I went to Willenhall to speak, but the crowd surged and howled, and tried to tear down our banner. The next day, however, at 2.30, in the very same place, Mrs. Cooper had a splendid audience, that listened quietly and asked sensible questions. We have also had excellent meetings in the market-place at Wolverhampton, and at various Works. On Saturday night at Willenhall we should have had a good meet-

ing but for one man, who constantly repeated, "I have one vote; how many has a rich man?" Every attempt to answer or to get rid of him failed, and the serious section of the audience were very much disappointed.

The Women Suffragists at Wolverhampton, we are sorry to say, have been too busy with party politics to lend a hand with the work, which has consequently suffered from lack of helpers. There were, however, four exceptions, and to Mrs. Arnold Shaw, Mrs. and Miss Clarkeson, and Mrs. White we owe most grateful thanks for the help and encouragement they have given us. We must also thank our speakers, Miss Ashton, Miss Abadam, Mrs. Cooper, and Miss Rowlett, and our helpers, Miss Taylor, Miss Alder, and Miss Cockle, who worked without ceasing in every imaginable way, even taking a hand at speaking when required, a very disagreeable task when the duties of advertising, &c., have left no time for thought.

I hope that before very long the National Union will be able to carry on a Suffrage campaign in Wolverhampton. The Midlands are far behind London and the North, and a mission carried on in times of peace could not fail to be profitable.

E. M. GARDNER.

Shropshire By-Election.

In answer to the questions addressed them by Miss Rowlett, our organizer, the candidates in the Newport division have answered as follows: Mr. Francis Neilson (Liberal) writes, "I have worked for Woman's Suffrage here and in America, extending over a period of fifteen years. I have in my election address stated that I am in favour of the Suffrage for women; indeed, I am an Adult Suffragist."

Mr. Stainer (Conservative) writes: "I have much pleasure in referring you to my election address, in which you will see that I am in favour of granting the franchise to women on the same qualifications as apply to the men."

A Sequel to the Peckham By-Election.

As all roads lead to Rome, so all arrangements between now and June 13th must lead up to the Procession, but, admitting this, the more meetings the better to advertise our object in having the Procession at all.

With this end in view the London Society has arranged a mass meeting of Peckham electors for May 18th at 8.30 P.M., They are to be addressed by Mr. Gooch, now M.P., and Mr. Gautrey, L.C.C., who opposed each other so strenuously at Peckham. Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., will be in the chair. Miss F. Sterling and Mrs. Hanbury will speak, and also Mrs. Booth, the Lancashire working woman, whose speech at the Queen's Hall a few months back made one of the effects which native eloquence combined with a first-hand grip on facts alone can accomplish. This meeting, like the Procession, and all broad effects, means money. It is much hoped that all who can will take a 2s. or a 1s. ticket (obtainable at the office), and come or send a friend. It is not merely a local effort, and those who have never been to a popular demonstration will here have an opportunity of seeing what one is like. Electric trams from Victoria and Embankment, motors from Charing Cross, taking about twenty-five minutes, pass the door. This is a good opportunity of securing Mrs. Booth's services for the following day as well, if she is free. Her address is 39, Bolton Street, Ramsbottom, Lancs.

New Society at Gloucester.

GLoucester may now be added to the list of the Societies of the National Union. Its object is the attainment, by constitutional methods, of the Parliamentary Franchise for women on the same terms as are, or may be, granted to men. Membership is open to those who agree with the above object and subscribe at least 1s. yearly.

Branch Societies.

BATH.—Mrs. Swiney, President of the Cheltenham Women's Suffrage Society, lectured to the Bath Women's Suffrage Society on Tuesday afternoon at 2, Argyle Street, on 'Women's Suffrage.'

BOURNEMOUTH held its usual monthly "At Home" on Monday, April 27th, at the Prince's Hall, when Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., gave a brilliant address on the Suffrage Movement, and afterwards ably answered many questions. R. H. Harvey, Esq., occupied the chair, and made a touching reference to the memory of the late Premier, who, he reminded his hearers, was personally in favour of Women's Suffrage. The musical programme was well rendered, the songs by Miss Dawson and Mr. Morgan being greatly appreciated. The President—Mrs. Rowe—though present, was unable to speak owing to a severe cold, so the Chairman read a short paper for her, stating that this "At Home" was the last of the Winter Session. A series of enjoyable and profitable meetings had been held, the numbers of members and friends increasing at every "At Home" from fifty at the first to over 300 at the last. A member from New Milton—Miss Bateson—presented Mrs. Fawcett with a lovely bouquet, and the usual votes of thanks concluded the meeting. Twelve new members joined the Society. The Speaker's Club, which has met once a week at the Secretary's house, and done good work, is also closed. During the winter members have spoken, by invitation, at fifteen public meetings. The liberal collections at the "At Homes" have covered all expenses.

OHELTENHAM.—A Daffodil Concert was given on Monday, April 13th, at Milsom Street School to working people by members of the Women's Suffrage Society. The platform was yellow with daffodils, which were afterwards given to every one present. The audience was larger than on the last occasion. Councillor Merrett took the chair, and an excellent programme was rendered. Mrs. Florence Earengy, B.A., gave the Suffrage talk, and afterwards performed in the rhymed Suffrage duologue 'The Lady and the Woman,' with Miss Winifred Boulton. Other items were—readings by Mrs. Flower Mills, songs by Miss G. Stone and Miss E. Holloway, costume songs by the Hon. Sec., Miss Theodora Mills, glees by the Misses Woodall and Holloway and Messrs. Wiley and Sawyer, a song by Mr. Wiley, and two by Mr. Sawyer, into the latter of which, 'Sally in our Alley,' a verse about "Sally" wanting a vote had somehow crept. As before, Miss Woodall had been the chief means of getting together the audience.

The sixth social meeting was held on May 2nd in the garden of the Grosvenor Tea Rooms. Mrs. Florence Earengy, B.A., took the chair, and gave a summary of the month's Suffrage news. In the absence of Mrs. Swiney, her paper on 'The Real Meaning of Force' was read by the Hon. Sec. Mention was made of the London procession, and members were urged to go.

EDINBURGH.—Several interesting meetings have been organized and addressed by members of the Edinburgh N.S.W.S. during the past few weeks. It has been mentioned before that two meetings at Corstorphine, arranged by Miss MacMillan, Hon. Sec. of the Scottish Women Graduates' Parliamentary Franchise Committee, were broken up by a band of students. Great indignation was felt in the neighbourhood, and Miss MacMillan was requested to make the attempt once more. She willingly consented, and a most successful evening was the result. Among the speakers were Lady Frances Balfour, who presided, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and the Rev. D. Glasse. There was a large and appreciative audience, and, as a consequence, the question of Women's Enfranchisement has won many supporters in the district. Another meeting in Midlothian was held a few evenings afterwards at the village of Juniper Green. Miss MacMillan presided, and Lady Steel gave a stirring address to an audience of several hundreds. Lady Steel also lately addressed a meeting at Buckhaven, in East Fife, where she is said to have made a great many converts among the men.

HUDDERSFIELD.—A general executive meeting was held on the 27th. Mrs. Jagger presided in the absence of Mrs. Siddon. Councillor Beaumont, in referring to the death of Mrs. Pechey Phipson, M.D., said the lady had been a munificent subscriber to the local fund, and referred to her great attainments. He moved the resolution, "That the Huddersfield branch of the National Union places upon record their high appreciation of the life work of Mrs. Edith Pechey Phipson, M.D., and their deep sympathy with Mr. Herbert Phipson in the irreparable loss sustained by him through her lamented death." This was seconded by Mrs. Studdard, and passed in silence, the members all rising in support.

LONDON.—On April 7th Mrs. Meinertzhagen, 4, Cheyne Walk, held a crowded evening "At Home" in her beautiful old Chelsea house. Mr. Gordon was in the chair. The speakers were Dr. Flora Murray, Mr. Cecil Chapman, J.P., and Mr. Jacobs, President of the Men's League. The audience joined freely in the discussion which followed the speeches, and a great deal of interest was aroused.

On April 9th Mrs. Spielmann, 38, Gloucester Square, Hyde Park, held an evening "At Home." Mr. Aylmer Maud was in the chair. The speakers were Mrs. Campbell Lethbridge, who spoke on behalf of the London Society, and Mr. Zangwill. The latter made a most interesting and amusing speech. Miss Spielmann gave a short account of the Newnham Students' Suffrage Society and their self-denial week.

As it was thought very desirable that those in the audience who were opposed to Women's Suffrage should be encouraged to state their views, Dr. Flora Murray kindly offered to lead the opposition—although herself, of course, a strong supporter of our cause. She was followed by Mrs. Cohen, a genuine opposer! Several people present joined in the discussion, and Mr. Zangwill answered all objections, much to the entertainment of the audience. There were fully 200 present, and several new members were obtained.

WANDSWORTH.—A well-attended meeting for Conservative women was held on Friday afternoon, April 10th, in the Rooms of the Wandsworth Conservative Association (by kind permission of the executive committee). The speakers were Mrs. Percy Boulnois and Mrs. George Penn Gaskell. A good collection was taken, and several new members joined the Society. By the kind invitation of Mrs. Powell a very successful drawing-room meeting was held at 34, Dalebury Road on Saturday, April 11th, when Miss Abadam spoke on the 'Enfranchisement of Women: Economic, Social, and Political.' A number of new members joined the Society at this meeting.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

	May.	P.M.
7th	London, S. Paddington, Drawing-Room Meeting <i>Speakers, Lady Frances Balfour</i> <i>Miss Lowndes</i>	4.30
	Surbiton, Public Meeting, Upper Hall Assembly Rooms <i>Speakers, Mrs. Stuart Black</i> <i>Lady Torrance</i> <i>and others</i>	4.30
9th	Norwood, Suffrage Debate, 97, Central Hill	
11th	Cardiff, Public Meeting Llandudno, Public Meeting, Cambridge Restaurant <i>Speaker, Mrs. Henry Fawcett</i> <i>Speaker, Miss Walton Evans</i>	3
	London, Drawing-Room Meeting, Streatham Park	8
12th	Darlington, Annual Meeting, Temperance Institute, Business Meeting at 7.15 <i>Speaker, Mrs. Harrison Bell</i>	8
	London, Hampstead, Drawing-Room Meeting, 12, Chalcot Gardens, N.W. <i>Hostess, Miss Jessie Macgregor</i> <i>Chair, Mrs. Stopes</i> <i>Speaker, Lady Frances Balfour</i>	3.30
	Willesden, First Annual Meeting, Congregational Small Hall, Church Road <i>Chair, Mrs. James Gibb</i> <i>Speaker, Miss F. Sterling</i>	3.30
	Worcester, Public Meeting, Masonic Hall <i>Speaker, Miss Adadam</i>	8
	Caldicot, Chepstow <i>Speaker, Mrs. Fawcett</i>	
13th	Birmingham, Annual Meeting, Grand Hotel <i>Speaker, Miss Abadam</i>	
	Pontypridd <i>Speaker, Mrs. Fawcett</i>	
	Brighton, Drawing-Room Meeting <i>Hostess, Mrs. Edward Francis</i>	3
14th	London, Wimbledon, Public Meeting, Lecture Hall <i>Speakers, Lady Frances Balfour</i> <i>Mrs. Rackham</i> S. Kensington, Drawing-Room Meeting <i>Speaker, Miss Corbett</i>	3
15th	Tufnell Park, Drawing-Room Meeting <i>Speaker, Mrs. Percy Boulnois</i>	4
	Brighton, Drawing-Room Meeting <i>Hostess, Mrs. Edward Francis</i>	5
16th	London, Drawing-Room Meeting, 147, Sloane Street <i>Hostess, Mrs. Temple</i> <i>Speaker, Miss Abadam</i> Chelsea, Drawing-Room Meeting <i>Speaker, Miss Abadam</i>	8
18th	Peckham, Mass Meeting, Central Hall <i>Chair, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D.</i> <i>Speakers, Mrs. Booth, Mrs. Stan-</i> <i>bury, Miss F. Sterling, H. C.</i> <i>Gooch, Esq., M.P., T. Gautrey, Esq.</i>	8.30

June 13th, Procecion.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Freedom League (late W.S.P.A.).

OFFICES: 18, BUCKINGHAM STREET, STRAND, W.C., and 30, GORDON STREET, GLASGOW.

Telephone: 15143 CENTRAL.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. DESPARD.
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MRS. HOLMES

Hon. Secretary: MRS. HOW MARTYN, B.S.C.

MISS MANSELL
MRS. EILEEN MITCHELL
MRS. M. CLAYTON
MISS HAMILTON

Notes.

Montrose Burghs By-Election.

THE PRESS.—After experiencing several years of unfair treatment at the hands of the London Press, it is a relief to be able to record the splendid way in which our by-election workers have been treated by the Kincardineshire press. Meetings and speeches have been well and truthfully reported. The help thus given to our movement is incalculable, and we may feel grateful accordingly.

It is likely that the superiority of the Scottish Press in this matter is due to the superior intelligence of its reading public. A canny Scot probably prefers facts to sensations, and reports of thoughtful speeches to descriptions of "kicking and screaming females," and of witty males convulsing audiences by allusions to their married condition. The London daily papers, perhaps, know their public, and it may be in accordance with that knowledge that their reporters try to pester us into unconstitutional action by constant inquiries as to "when we are going to prison again," and in order that they may publish sensational and untrue accounts of our un feminine exploits, followed by hypocritical leading articles solemnly denouncing those exploits. It is true that there is some slight improvement in the tone of the more far-seeing of the London journals. These are becoming aware that coarse insults at the expense of women, though still considered exquisitely witty, are beginning to be looked upon by some men as not quite "good form"; they are realizing that respect for women will slowly—very slowly—take the place of contempt for females in the manly British breast, and their tone is changing accordingly. The effect is startling. For instance, by a process of very rapid evolution, a woman finds herself suddenly developed from "shrieking female" to "silver-tongued orator," her "raucous screams" having been as rapidly converted into "intellectual utterances." It is consoling to know that the women who have come unscathed through the scratching, screaming, hysterical phase of journalistic attack, will pass equally unharmed through the silver-tongued, intellectual phase. Those who will watch the Press closely and keep specimens of journalistic utterances will find it an interesting though somewhat saddening hobby; but it will be of use in that future time when women will count politically and economically, if only as a guide to those newspapers to be avoided. We prophesy that among the latter will be found *The Daily Telegraph*.

SCOTTISH WOMEN LIBERALS.—We dinna ken what gar'd Miss Craigmyle to gang oot o' her way to insult the "Suffragettes" frae a Leebal platform. But having ca'd them "vulgar English weemen" 'tis an unco' peety she durstna crack wi' Mrs. Beelington-Greig and fight it oot in the open. The officials of the Leebal Association (Weemen's Branch) write that they canna put great national interests on one side for a subseidiary matter. Hoot toots! Heh, Sirs! What like are these officials wha durstna gie their names, and ca' weemen's freedom a subseidiary matter? In gude troth they canna be onything but pur men-folk; and what like are the Scottish weemen to be fashed wi' the like of them in their ain Association? Awel, ilka land has its ain lauch. But aiblins 'tis better to be vulgar English weemen, ganging their ain gait and aye gleg at their duty, than "singing their Psalms and busking their cockernonies the gait the men-folk like, and nae ither gait."

STILL they come—a spurt of by-elections in Scotland. Some of us are suffering from election on the brain. I am assured on good authority that I now murmur in my sleep, "Keep the Liberal out." A most difficult task in Scotland, as Kincardineshire shows. Here we have in the North-East traditional Liberalism firmly established, men in thousands who will vote for a man who calls himself a Liberal, and for no other reason. I have always disliked party politics, and the dislike has become stronger since I have experienced the full force of blind, unreasoning party allegiance. Unreasoning, I repeat; for why working men, who form the majority of the voters, should have such implicit confidence in the Liberal Party, passes my comprehension. The town of Forfar, where I live, is part of Montrose Burghs. The wages of working men range from 16s. to 11. per week, and the wives have to turn out and work in the jute factories, to eke out the family income. This, of course, is followed by the usual crop of evils in the shape of comfortless homes and neglected children, as they are unable even to pay for those things being done. A still greater evil, I venture to think, is the unending drudgery of those women's lives—many of whom have large families—they are veritable beasts of burden. We also have the supreme dominance of the husband in those parts. In no part of the country have I encountered so many specimens of the arrogant domestic tyrant, especially among those who earn the magnificent wage of 18s. a week. The middle-class woman, again, is hard to move here. She is exceedingly comfortable, has a nice home—rents are much smaller than in a big city—and is selfishly wrapped up in it and her children, along with the little petty social pleasures enjoyed by her particular class. Of course there are a few exceptions, but all too few, the majority need wakening up badly.

Now to the contest. We have three candidates—Unionist, Liberal, and Labour. The Unionist is not considered in the running at all, the Liberal, Mr. Vernon Harcourt, twice rejected at elections, is hardly considered fit to fill Mr. John Morley's shoes. Consequently the hopes of the Labour men are running high for their candidate, Mr. Joseph Burgess, who has been well received. But there is traditional Liberalism again to fight, also the fear on the part of many of allowing the Unionist in, by splitting the vote. We are in the field, of course, working independently with our battle cry "Votes for Women!" "Keep the Liberal out!" and we have a much better chance of success than in Kincardineshire. Our great drawback is want of workers. We are suffering from the fact that Dundee is of more importance with "Dear Winnie" as the Liberal candidate. Suffragettes are tripping over each other there, while we are few as angels' visits in Montrose Burghs. The first three days I was alone, with five towns to work, Arbroath, Montrose, Forfar, Brechin, and Berbie. Then I had Mrs. Billington-Greig for one day and Miss Munro for three days. The permanent staff has now been increased fifty per cent by the arrival of Mrs. Sloan from Glasgow, who is now experiencing her first taste of by-election. We have had three meetings in Forfar, one in Montrose, and have been most favourably received. I expect to get round the other towns next week, if only we can get more workers. At present I am again the only speaker, and wish I could divide myself into five. We have committee rooms at 104, Castle Street, Forfar, and 19, George Street, Montrose. We are work-

ing up a big meeting in Montrose for Friday, May 8th, with Mrs. Billington-Greig, Miss Anna Munro, and myself as speakers. Also open-air meetings at breakfast, dinner, and supper-time each day, all over the constituency. I forgot to say that we also had the kind assistance of Miss McGilchrist of Edinburgh for one day. Polling day is Tuesday, May 12th, workers urgently wanted, likewise financial assistance. Rally round, and help to "keep the Liberal out" of Montrose Burghs.

AMY SANDERSON.

Dundee By-election.

DUNDEE, as far as I have seen, can hardly claim the adjective "bonnie." It may be interesting, but we Suffragettes have eyes for little but suitable pitches and crowds.

We are now well in the by-election contest. Polling day, so we learn, is Saturday, May 9th, when we hope to set "Dear Winnie" once more on his travels in search of a seat.

Miss Molony and I met the Dundee Branch of the W.F.L. on Tuesday last, and the open-air meetings commenced on Thursday, when Mrs. Billington-Greig had a fine reception at the Gasworks, where a rather amusing incident took place. A supporter of one of the candidates attempted to draw away our crowd, with the result that he received deafening howls and a splendid show of backs.

We had a truly magnificent meeting outside the Drill Hall on Friday evening, whilst Mr. Churchill was addressing the crowd within, where fifty extra stewards had been engaged because of a possible attack on the part of the Suffragettes. The latter, however, had much more important business than attending "Dear Winnie's" meeting. Between two and three thousand people stood and listened to Miss Molony for an hour, and to Mrs. Billington-Greig for the same length of time. They became intensely enthusiastic, and would-be hustlers from the Liberal meeting received very short treatment. Our lorry was driven back in triumph, crowded with supporters, who rang bells and sang out "Votes for Women!"

One of our members at Lochee on Saturday night asked Mr. Winston Churchill whether he was prepared to extract a pledge from the Government that the latter would either introduce or give special facilities to the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. To this the candidate replied he was not. Liberal women no longer have any excuse for pretending to believe in the promises of this very promising young man. It is their bounden duty to come and swell our forces at once, if they have the Women's Movement at heart.

Next week we are looking forward to having Mrs. Despard with us here.

Our indoor meetings are as follows:—

Thursday, 8 P.M.—Maxwellton Hall—Prince's Street Hall—Mary Magdalene Hall.

Friday, 8 P.M.—Gymnasium.

Saturday, 3 P.M.—Giffillan Hall.

ALICE SCHOFIELD.

Wolverhampton after Manchester.

LEAVING Manchester on Saturday, Dr. Bouchier and Mrs. Manson reached Wolverhampton, and opened the Women's Freedom League Committee Rooms at 19, Broad Street, on Monday.

Here, as elsewhere, both candidates are professed Suffragists. Here, as elsewhere, both candidates are availing themselves of women as canvassers, and, as elsewhere, the victor will be largely indebted to the women of his party.

The Liberal appears to take it as particularly hard that the Militant Suffragists have taken the field, since he is a sympathizer with "votes for women." A Government is without a soul to be saved or a body to be burnt. It, however, owns a nominee to be beaten at every by-election. To disencumber himself of the opposition of "weak" women Mr. Thorne has only to dissociate himself from the support of the "strongest Government of modern times."

Mrs. Holmes arrived on Monday, the 27th, and Miss Benett,

of Burslem, on May 1st. Both are remaining until the close of the poll on Tuesday, May 5th. We are re-enforced by Mrs. Sproson and Mrs. Price, both ex-prisoners, and by the other members of the local branch. Except at Worcester, we have never been so few in numbers, and, except at Peckham, we have never had quite such a disagreeable fight. Weather, irresponsible buffoonery, and organized rowdy opposition have all been against us here; but our literature has been distributed, our meetings have been held, and converts have been made in spite of every adverse circumstance. If we are marked to die, we are enough to do our League some loss, but if to live, the fewer, then, the greater share of honour.

Mrs. Despard's two indoor and two open-air addresses created a profound impression, and lifted the spirit of her audiences into an ideal world far above petty party politics.

As at previous elections, we attempted to attend nominations. In Wolverhampton, for the first time, the police objected, under orders, to Mrs. Manson and Miss Benett proceeding. They returned to their cab; sent in a note to the Mayor; were seen by the Town Clerk; and conquered, without "disorderly conduct."

Wolverhampton, Sunday.

K. M.

The Fight at Radical Dewsbury.

WE should need a new dictionary adequately to describe the state of things during the last few days of the by-election in Dewsbury. Ordinary adjectives seem meaningless.

Our Committee Room, which was situated in the very centre of the market-place, on the Saturday morning was a ruin, with bare, crumbling walls, and the dust and dirt of years of neglect choking every corner. By six o'clock in the evening it was a quite a comfortable apartment, with freshly papered walls, screens, chairs, all the well-known posters displayed in striking array, and a window filled with Suffragette literature that drew all the market round it in such a crowd that the police were quickly on the spot moving the amazed gazers on.

We held twenty-nine meetings in the open air during election week, and from the very first had enormous audiences. Indeed, Mrs. Sproson and I only had to appear outside with a flag and a bell to be promptly surrounded and bombarded with requests for a meeting to be held then and there. "Go on, lass, tell us all about votes"—and we were usually only too happy to oblige. It was a little difficult at first to get Dewsbury people—who are Radical by birth and inheritance—to understand why we wished them to vote against the Liberal. "Why, Runciman voted for yer Bill," they would say; then we would drive it home that he supported the Government that refused to adopt our Bill, and that the Government could only understand the argument of menace, and so on, and so on. But they saw it at last, and we repeated it so often, and so insistently the phrase "Vote against the Government, turn the Liberal out," that it caught on like the refrain of a popular song, and small boys shouted it in the streets like a chorus; with the result that the "safest seat in England" lost nearly 2,300 votes.

The Liberal women turned out in force on election day and staffed the polling booths with as much energy and considerably more anger than the Suffragists. It was a fine compliment from the Liberal party to the influence that women exert on the electors; it also had the good effect of silencing the irate Liberal query, "Why doan't yer go home and do the washin'?"—a query invariably propounded by gentlemen whose appearance certainly did not qualify them to pose as authorities on washing. On the whole though I must confess that our reception was marked by the utmost friendliness, and the women gathered round us at each meeting with keen interest and goodwill written on their handsome Yorkshire faces. It was amusing to note whenever a party of Liberals came and tried to break up our meetings by ringing a huge bell, and putting up a speaker with a stentorian voice in our immediate vicinity—how they gathered closer round us, and refused to a man and a woman to budge. "Go on, lass, don't let him talk yer down—he's got nought to tell us we don't know." So we would go on, and in each case the Liberal speaker retired in confusion after what, I must admit, was a most gallant attempt to talk for thirty

minutes to a formidable array of backs. Our interview with the Mayor on nomination day created a great deal of local interest. His worship received us most courteously, and admitted with sympathetic heat that half of the constituency was certainly suffering under a most grievous injustice, in that under the present conditions it was entirely unrepresented. Though he could not under the existing law accept the nomination of a candidate who would undertake to represent the women, and be elected by them, he hoped the time would soon come when he could. In answer to my declaration that we should consider it our duty to point out to the women of the constituency their unrepresented state, and rouse them by every means in our power to rebel against it, and demand their rights, he wished us good luck and God-speed, and hoped that we should be speedily successful. His daughters, I may say, came down to the office afterwards, and gave us valuable assistance in the clerical work, and the Mayor sent tickets to the representatives of the W.F.L. to be present at the Town Hall during the counting of the poll. Dr. Bouchier took charge of the office, and her afternoon meetings for women were very popular.

Half an hour after the declaration of the poll Dewsbury had wended its way homeward, Liberal Dewsbury comforting itself as best it might with the reflection that, any way, its man was "in," and realizing with a shiver how, if the Suffragettes had only had another week, he might so easily have been "out."

M. H.

The Manchester By-Election (Final).

RETURNING from an open-air meeting in Quay Street Square with Miss Benett on Easter Monday, I was astonished to see the pavement chalked with announcements of a Winston Churchill meeting to be held there. I had buried my talent as a pavement artist because I was warned that pavement-chalking was a punishable offence in Manchester. Encouraged by bad example, I returned to the office for my chunks and added a *postscript* wherever I saw a Liberal chalking. The result of this collaboration read somewhat strangely, and the Bank Holiday-makers laughed heartily. A zealous policeman stopped my progress and took my name and address, but apparently the Manchester authorities adopted Nelson's policy of shutting their eyes to what they should not see, for there the matter ended.

Reaching Mr. Winston Churchill's meeting before he did, I took up an excellent position, and on his arrival was quite ready for him. I had never heard him speak before, and was surprised to find that he used so much ready-made oratory, that I had no difficulty whatever in finishing off his sentences quite intelligibly to the audience, his slow utterance giving me time to interject a whole phrase between two of his words. I was, of course, expostulated with by the audience, who bore with me most patiently when I explained that I was sorry to be a nuisance, but at election times we were obliged to try and refuse candidates the ear of their electorates, since we were refused the ear of the ballot. Mr. Churchill took the annoyance less cheerfully and gave up the attempt. I walked with him to his carriage to the tune, sung by the crowd, of "Good-bye, Winnie, we shall miss you," and his only answer as to whether his death-bed conversion to "votes for women" (which he did not vote for on Feb. 28th) was a tactic or a principle was "Oh! Ah," and "Go away; go anywhere you like."

He was unable to do anything, because, as I pointed out, the crowd was looking at us.

On poll-day in Manchester the Liberals were greatly encouraged by "the victory at Dewsbury," where Runciman had got in, it is true, but with a decreased majority of over 2,000. Here, for the first time, exception was taken *officially* to the pickets stationed outside the polling-booths.

I was removed from my station beside a Liberal youth anxious to get votes for "Churchill and Free Trade," and opposite to a Socialist and a Conservative, because I was "intimidating the voters!!!" Police were stationed to guard against my return. A large crowd assembled outside the Manchester Town Hall in Albert Square. It was a very friendly crowd, and continually cheered for *Votes for Women*, and called out "Are you down-hearted?" It made repeated unavailing "rushes," and just before I was carried away the first time, a policeman's foot and

my own were a bit victimized—the sole being wrenched right off his boot. The wonder seemed to us that our souls and bodies were not wrenched apart! As soon as I was allowed to escape, I limped back again and sat down upon the steps. I shall always treasure the halfpenny flung in my face as "Tory gold" from a staunch Liberal. Being carried away the second time (but not to the police-court, as it was poll-day!), and having no instructions from my superior officer's I deemed it advisable to make peace with the Chief Constable in his office, where Dr. Bouchier, Mrs. Holmes, and I accepted his "olive branch" of three tickets of admission to the Town Hall that night at 8 o'clock—a privilege we had not thought of obtaining.

K. M.

Branch Notes.

Glasgow Western Branch.—The Committee were at home on Wednesday evening, in Academy Rooms, Partick, to members and sympathizers, and entertained over 100 ladies and gentlemen. After tea Mrs. Wilson took the chair, and after a few remarks, and expressing her pleasure that she was able to accept office as president, asked Miss Eunice Murray to speak. Miss Murray gave a splendid little speech, showing the great need of women for the power of the Parliamentary Vote.

Then Miss White, who has been acting as president these last few months, in the name of the Western Branch, presented Mrs. Billington-Greig with a very fine Imari china vase on Japanese wood stand—an appreciation from members. Mrs. Billington-Greig was greatly pleased with the present, but particularly with the feeling it conveyed. Mrs. Billington-Greig, in thanking, spoke of herself as one of the best hated woman in the country—but we know that is not true. She gave a most inspiring address, which made most of us determine to work harder, and braced the waverers. She also made an urgent appeal for workers and funds for by-election work. During the evening several songs were sung by Miss Johnston, Mr. Allison, and Mr. Halliday, Miss Urquhart and Mrs. Gemmill played accompaniments, &c. Miss Isa Spence, a fine elocutionist, gave two very good pieces, one most suitable and effective, 'Ma can't Vote.' Altogether, it was a very pleasant meeting, and sixteen new members were added to our roll.

J. G. WILSON, Secretary.

Central Branch.—We regret to announce that, owing to pressure of work, Miss Matters will not be able to open the Debate on May 7th. Madame Tournier has promised to open a Sharp Practice Debate for members and friends on the same date.

Our Own Suffrage Lasses.

[Poem handed to Miss Schofield by a Fisherman.]

Tune:—"WAIT FOR THE WAGON."

To-day we vote, so take ye note,

To make the Women free,

To give them might, and equal Right,

And Suffrage same as we,

The Earth is old, and worn, and cold,

And wet with Women's tears,

We vote to-day to sweep away

The wrongs and crimes of years.

To keep the Blame, with all its shame

On Woman's tender head,

Of sin and curse, and ruin worse,

We leave to senseless dead!

And this we say—in Right's Grand Way,

That Path which cowards fly—

That Women's lives and Women's names

Are sparkling Heaven high.

In ages all at Virtue's call

We find a Woman true—

Through field and flood, through fire and blood,

Comes aye that dauntless few,

Their cause at stake—the field we take—

Where rolls their adverse tide,

We take our stand—their cause in hand—

Our Lasses by our side.

Our Own Suffrage Lasses,

Our Sweet Suffrage Lasses,

Our Own Suffrage Lasses,

The Bravest of the Brave.

A MERE FISHERMAN.

Scottish Council.

As a result of the successful propaganda in the North a branch of the League was formed in Aberdeen last Monday by Miss Schofield. Over thirty ladies joined. The secretary is Miss Arabella Cummings, 85, Clifton Road, Aberdeen.

Last Monday a large and successful branch was also formed in Perth by Mrs. Sanderson and Miss Munro. Mrs. Sanderson dealt very fully with the aims, objects, and methods of our League, the application of many of the laws and purposed measures to women. She urged her audience eloquently and persuasively to put justice and principle before party and sentiment. Over sixty names were taken, so we have every prospect of a flourishing and enthusiastic group in the "Fair City."

At the last meeting of the Scottish Council it was decided to work two summer centres in Scotland. St. Andrew's was chosen for the East Coast and Dunoon for the West. July and August, being the favourite exodus months for Scottish town people, are to be tried by way of experiment. We require speakers, workers, and lookers-on, so I would appeal to all who possibly can, to spend their summer vacation with us this year. So please send in your names to the office at 30, Gordon Street, Glasgow, as soon as possible, or to your branch secretary, stating how long you can be with us, and which centre you prefer.

In the Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, on May 22nd, a great demonstration will be held, at which Mrs. Fawcett, LL.D., Miss Cicely Hamilton, and Earl Russell will be the speakers. Tickets of admission will be 2s. 6d., 1s. and 6d.

A sale of work will also be held by the Edinburgh Branch on May 30th in the Livingstone Hall, Clerk Street, from 3.10 p.m. It will be opened by Mrs. Despard. There will be on view the "Holloway Cell," with Mrs. Sanderson and Miss Anna Munro as prisoners. Good music will be provided, also a first-class tea-room.

As the 30th is a Saturday, it will be a splendid opportunity for members and friends all over the country to take advantage of the cheap fares and spend a very enjoyable day with our Edinburgh workers. Miss Jack, 4, Fountainhall Road, Edinburgh, the energetic secretary, will forward tickets and leaflets for either event, or they may be obtained at 30, Gordon Street, Glasgow. Do not forget the summer centres. A. M.

Important Notices.

A Jumble Sale will be held at the Despard Club about the third week in May. As funds are urgently needed for propaganda work, &c., will Suffragists please send along immediately whatever they can and cannot spare in the shape of cast-off clothing to Miss Mansell, 2, Currie Street, Nine Elms, S.W.?

The Caravan will start from Mrs. Despard's house, Earnshaw Cottage, Oxshott, Surrey, on Saturday, May 16th, at 4 p.m. All friends of Woman's Suffrage are heartily invited to come and see the van and give it a good "send off." Trains from Waterloo 1.37 and 2.15, arriving at Oxshott 2.20 and 3.1. Day tickets, 1s. 7d. return (which must be specially asked for). The first meeting will be held at Leatherhead at 7 p.m. that evening. All those who have cycles are invited to accompany the van, and attend this meeting, and help to make it a success. Tea at Earnshaw Cottage by kind invitation of Mrs. Despard, 3 to 4.30 p.m.

Mrs. Hicks would be glad to receive names of cyclists who will help with the work during the summer, with a statement of the dates on which they are prepared to accompany the van. There will be no difficulty in finding accommodation for them in the neighbourhood.

The Anniversary of John Stuart Mill's birth will be celebrated by the Women's Freedom League on May 20th. Members will assemble round his statue in the Temple Gardens at 3 p.m., and speeches will be delivered.

Suffragists are often accused of ingratitude because they withhold thanks to present-day politicians until such time as fair words shall be translated into deeds. On May 20th they will have an opportunity of showing that they are capable of gratitude, by meeting to honour the memory of the man who not only promised, but performed, and to whose efforts half a century ago women owe much of the limited liberty they enjoy to-day.

Passive Resisters' Meetings.—On May 13th a public meeting, will be held at Great Marlow, to protest against taxation without representation. The sale of Mrs. Sargent Florence's goods, seized to make up the sum she refuses to pay in the form of taxation, will take place about that date.

Dr. Elizabeth Wilks, who is going through the same disagreeable ordeal, is arranging a protest meeting in Hackney on May 18th. It is hoped that members will go in good numbers to both these meetings. Those who cannot resist taxation can help a good deal by cheering and encouraging those who are in a position to do so.

The Lewisham Bazaar has been postponed to October.

[We regret that, through inadvertence, portions of a short article on Mrs. P. A. Taylor, written for our columns, appeared in the obituary notice of her published on April 23rd in *Women's Franchise*].

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From May 7th to May 23rd.

MAY			
Thurs. 7	Peterborough, Public Meeting Social, 18, Buckingham Street 18, Buckingham Street	Mrs. Despard By-Election Workers Madame Tournier	3 3.30 8
	Despard Debating Society Collier's Rents Mission Hall, Long Lane, S.E.	Miss Neilans	9
Fri. 8	Hackney Branch	Miss Irene Miller	8
Sun. 10	Hyde Park	Miss Mary Smith	3.30
Mon. 11	Cardiff	Mrs. Despard	8
	Islington Branch, 10, Highbury Hill	Miss Lilley	8
Tues. 12	Southall Co-operative Hall	Miss Fitzherbert Miss Cicely Hamilton Dr. Helen Bourchier	3 8 8
	Raglan Caldicot (Chepstow)	Mrs. Despard	8
Wed. 13	Marlow Town Hall	Mrs. Despard Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Sargent Florence Mrs. Edwards	8 8 8 8
	Pontypridd Social, 18, Buckingham Street Hornsey, Lecture in National Hall, High Street (close to G. N. Ry. Station)	Mrs. Despard Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Billington-Greig Chairman, Mrs. How Martyn	8 3.30 8 8
Sat. 16	Caravan starts from Oxshott Caraven, Leatherhead, Open air		4 6
	Leatherhead Hall	Mrs. Despard	8
Sun. 17	Trafalgar Square	Mrs. Despard Miss Mary Smith Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. Despard	3.30 8 8 8
Mon. 18	Hackney	Mrs. Billington-Greig Mrs. How-Martyn Mr. Joseph McCabe	8 8 11 A.M.
Tues. 19	National Executive Com- mittee, 18, Buckingham Street		3
Wed. 20	John Stuart Mill—Celebra- tions at his Statue in Temple Gardens Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street	Lecture by Mrs. Billington- Greig, 'Equal Pay for Equal Work'	8.15 8.15
Thurs. 21	West Hampstead, Town Hall	Miss Crickmay Mr. Edward Coumbe, L.C.C. Mrs. Billington-Greig Mr. Joseph McCabe	8 8 8 8
Fri. 22	Edinburgh, Synod Hall	Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D. Miss Cicely Hamilton Earl Russell	8 8 8
Sat. 23	Glasgow	Miss Cicely Hamilton Earl Russell	8 8

Special "Suffrage Day," June 13th,

Procession starts from Embankment, 3 p.m., Albert Hall, 5 p.m.
Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d.

Scottish Women's Social and Political Union.

Convener of Committee: MRS. JOHN HUNTER.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS BURNET, 2, St. James Place, Hillhead, Glasgow.

Joint Hon. Secretaries: MISS GRACE PATERSON, MRS. I. D. PEARCE.

Organising Secretary: MISS HELEN FRASER.

COCKBURN BUILDINGS, 141, BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Telegraphic Address: "SUFFRAGE, GLASGOW."

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men.

The Lessons of a By-Election.

A NORTHERN county by-election affords a capital opportunity of studying the effect upon the unsophisticated countryman of an introduction to the question of Women's Suffrage.

That the arguments in its favour should then come before him for the first time is no reflection upon the past efforts of the Suffragists of earlier days. No amount of earnest endeavour to educate the people upon any important question can avail much, unless some means can be found to awaken general interest and curiosity concerning it. There is no compulsory education Act for adults. We cannot go out into the hedges and the byways and compel them to come in; their coming must be voluntary; so, in the past, in the little country districts there has been little or no possibility of carrying out an effective Women's Suffrage propaganda. A subject practically boycotted by the press, and therefore never prominently brought before public notice, could hardly be expected to draw country audiences to listen to its discussion, and the work of the older Suffragists has been carried on at great odds, never showing enough returns for the amount of labour and energy expended.

But now these times have changed. The new methods devised to enforce attention to a just and reasonable demand, by their striking originality and daring, as being adopted by women, have been eagerly seized upon by a sensation-loving press, and over the length and breadth of the land the name and fame of the Suffragette has been spread. Now curiosity to see and to hear the band of amazon warriors, provides the necessary incentive, hitherto lacking, to bring audiences together, and so, everywhere, the Suffragettes come, are seen, and conquer! For it is not in the number of votes that are turned at the polling booth that victory lies, but in the knowledge spread, the sympathy roused, and the conviction made clear that justice and right are with us, and that therefore our cause must win.

What one feels after listening to the comments of the country electors is that the people are with us, that, when unspoilt by the tricks of political schemers, they respond promptly and heartily to the truth that is set before them. "Of course," they say, "the woman who fulfils the same obligations required of a man is entitled to the same right to vote," in fact, they are rather puzzled to understand why there should be any question about it. The only thing that prevents their sympathy being demonstrated at the polling-booth is the difficulty of grasping the full meaning of the policy of opposing the Government candidate. "Why," they cry, "go against the man who says he is in favour of you?" and in most cases it is useless to try to explain that, having already 420 members in the House of Commons who say they are in favour of us, it is no help to us to add to their number, so long as the Government, through its Cabinet Ministers, has declared that it will do nothing for us. These subtleties are evidently beyond even the "hardheaded Scotchman," brought up, as he has been, in a school of theological training requiring much straining of intellect over many fine points. Perhaps it may be that his very theology leads him astray, for has he not learnt to place too much value on "faith," and too little on "works"? The man who professes much in the way of religion may often pass unnoticed in cheating

his neighbour, so what wonder, then, if the Liberal who preaches justice to women should seldom be called to account for his failure to turn his preaching to practice. With simple faith the country Scotch Liberal goes to the poll, believing that in voting for his candidate he is voting for "principles." Principles are supposed to have some occult value and efficacy, evidently quite apart from any use that may be made of them. For a man to say that he supports them is sufficient; he need do nothing towards proving the fact. But is that not just what every so-called "Christian" community is suffering from now—the reason why our modern civilizations are a disgrace to the name? An American proverb has it: "He who can, does; he who can't, preaches." It is all *preaching*, and woefully little *doing*, and all of us too ready to accept the preaching as an equivalent for the doing. "Sunday Christians" may be "week-day frauds," professed supporters may be practical opponents, and few ever think of calling them to account. It is right thinking that is wanted in the people themselves, and the habit of discriminating between the real and the professing sham, and the work of the Suffragette is having its share in teaching the lesson.

I. D. PEARCE.

Montrose Burghs By-Election.

THE Montrose Burghs By-election is in full swing—polling-day being May 12th. The five burghs—Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, Forfar, Bervie—have all been visited and had meetings. Every one is interested, and we have many sympathizers. This week we have arranged for several big meetings, but to work these up and to have as many open-air meetings as are necessary calls for the presence of many more helpers than we have.

The National W.S.P.U. have moved every one of their workers to Dundee, where Mr. Winston Churchill is a candidate, and where the excitement is growing. There seem to be so many politicians in Dundee that they are getting rather in each other's way, but we, as usual, are attracting much attention and having splendid meetings, our opening one in Kinnaird Hall being a record one. I noted that Mr. Winston Churchill spoke at a meeting of Liberal women yesterday afternoon, and said many felicitous things about Women's Suffrage, but said "a pledge was impossible." It is amusing to note how important the political woman has become in these latter days, especially in the Liberal ranks. Both Dundee and Montrose burghs are traditionally Liberal constituencies, the kind of Liberalism that is based on splendid principles, but never gets to practice.

Miss Una Dugdale has been doing splendid work speaking and organizing, and Miss MacGregor has also helped very much.

Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Martel have paid flying visits to the constituency, and we hope to have them back again.

Stirling Burghs By-Election.

IN Stirling I have a Committee Room, and hope to get the campaign there thoroughly arranged soon. I shall be very glad to hear from any of our members or sympathizers who can help at these by-elections. It is important work, and help is needed.

HELEN FRASER.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

OFFICE: 38, MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, W.C.

Telephone: 9953 CENTRAL.

Notes and Comments.

It is pointed out to us in a letter from Mr. Eric Evans of Cardiff that we were in error last week in saying that Mr. Joynson-Hicks did not refer to Women's Suffrage in his speech after the result of the N.-W. Manchester election. We find that he did do so, and not only so, but actually complimented the Suffragists on the success they had achieved in their propaganda in Manchester. In apologizing to Mr. Joynson-Hicks for our mistake, we can only attribute it to inadequate press reports. We searched through a number of dailies on Saturday week, but none of them contained the passage to which our correspondent draws our attention. Our thanks are due to Mr. Evans for making this correction, and we take this opportunity of inviting our readers in all such cases to communicate with us without delay in order that errors and omissions may be at once set right.

Mr. H. G. Chancellor, who has been a member of the Executive for nearly a year, has consented to undertake the duties of joint Honorary Treasurer.

We regret that we are unable this week to publish an account of Tuesday's meeting in the Hampstead Town Hall. It will appear next week.

A good many scattered references, not always correct, and rarely of an inspired character, are appearing in the provincial press with regard to the League. It is important that our friends should either send a letter to the editors of such journals or at least send a cutting to the Hon. Secretary at Museum Street, who will himself communicate. Letters explaining the objects of the League are generally printed, and serve a very useful purpose. This last week, for example, letters from Mr. E. W. Hendy appeared in the Alderley Edge and district journals, and one from the Hon. Secretary in *The Whitby Gazette*.

Clapham Meeting.

THE details of the meeting fixed for May 27th in St. Anne's Hall, Venn Street, Clapham, are now settled. The chair will be taken by E. Duval, Esq., and the speakers are: H. C. Brodie, Esq., M.P. (Rigate), Mrs. Winton Evans, and J. E. Raphael, Esq.

The price of tickets will probably be 1s. and 6d., and there will be a few free seats. All communications should be addressed either to the Hon. Secretary, M.L.W.S., 38, Museum Street, W.C., or to Mr. Victor D. Duval, 20, Lindore Road, Battersea Rise, S.W. The usual helpers will be required: stewards, distributors of handbills, and ticket-sellers.

Alderley Edge Meeting.

A MEETING under the joint auspices of the Knutsford division of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies and the Men's League was held at Alderley Edge, Cheshire, on April 28th. The Rev. W. Hudson-Shaw (in the chair) explained the objects of the Men's League. Miss Margaret Robertson then moved: "That in view of the need that women have for the protection of the vote and their increasing demand for it, their enfranchisement is a measure of prime public importance, which should no longer be delayed." She showed how the Suffrage movement was the result of the world-wide demand of women to be allowed to choose their vocation in life, and remarked on the impossibility of all English women finding their sphere "in the home" when they outnumbered the men by half a million. Women were exercising the vote in other

lands, and it was important for the country that they should be able to express their point of view by the vote, especially on social questions. The speaker gave instances from history refuting the old argument that women have no aptitude for foreign policy. Mrs. Swanwick seconded the motion, and spoke of the progress the movement for the Suffrage had made, especially among working women during the North-West Manchester election. Women were becoming conscious of their need for the vote. The opposition to their demand was small: it was the selfish inertia of the men, and especially of the middle-class men, that was the greatest obstacle. The meeting was then thrown open for discussion. Mr. Oliver Mee, a prominent local Liberal, speaking from the back of the hall, questioned the policy of the women's opposition to Mr. Churchill's candidature in North-West Manchester. Mrs. Swanwick, in reply, pointed out that the policy referred to was that of the Women's Social and Political Union, and not that of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, which she represented; she, however, explained the position taken up by the Women's Social and Political Union, and defended it as logical, if not wise. Mr. Steel, another local Liberal, then made an amusing speech from among the audience, quoting Carlyle's dictum that it was the everlasting privilege of the foolish to be governed by the wise, which he seemed to think was an argument against admitting women to any share in the Government. Mr. H. T. Cawley (son of Sir Frederick Cawley, Bart., member for the Prestwich division of Lancashire), a well-known Manchester Liberal, who had been invited to attend and join in the discussion, then opposed the motion: he denied that women were powerless without the vote, since they could influence public opinion, which was what really turned elections; women were more conservative and more snobbish than men, and would therefore, if enfranchised, oppose progressive legislation. He also attacked the tactics of the more militant Suffragists. Mrs. Swanwick, in reply, pointed out that women of gentle birth had not shrunk during the North-West Manchester election from chalking pavements and speaking from lorries; there did not appear to be much snobbishness in that. Mr. Hudson-Shaw wound up the debate with a stirring speech, in the course of which he said that if the Suffrage movement was a fad it was a fad which had the support of John Stuart Mill, as well of three Prime Ministers—Lord Salisbury, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, and Mr. Balfour. The motion was put and carried, with only two dissentients. A vote of thanks to the chairman and speakers was proposed by the Rev. J. G. Elstob, and seconded by Mrs. Walter Greg, who spoke of the impetus given by women's education, in which she herself was keenly interested, to their demand for the Suffrage. The audience, which was a large one, and would have been larger but for the unspeakable climatic conditions outside, was interested, and at times enthusiastic. The meeting has undoubtedly done much to arouse interest in Women's Suffrage in the district. Miss Zimmern kindly came from Manchester to superintend the sale of literature. E. W. HENDY.

Woman's Progress and Woman's Press.

IN this month's *Albany Review* there appears a very bitter and rather clever article by "X," under this title, which is not without interest as illustrating the attitude of mind in which a certain type of "intellectual" approaches women's questions. With the first part of the article it is not proposed to deal here, as it consists simply of a sarcastic réchauffé of the rather cheap club sneers with which every movement that is not wholly materialistic is invariably received in its earlier stages. We all know that any sort of enthusiasm has its ridiculous side; it is certainly not women only whose aspirations on the platform, when examined and dissected in the study appear ludicrously exalted, and on the whole it is fortunate for the world that it is so.

It is the second phase of the author's reflections which deserves attention. He has been studying the "women's papers and women's contributions to journals and general journals," and he finds them altogether lighter than vanity itself. He says:

"I have carefully examined some scores of these publications for the last few years, ranging from the penny journal read by milliners, to the sixpenny production designed for cultured womanhood, with a growing sadness and depression of soul."

He looks in vain in their "trivial" and even "twaddling" pages for the "larger outlook, the high moral standpoint, the seriousness, and so forth," which he has been led to expect to find in woman from the advocates of Women's Suffrage. And so he draws, with a naïveté which is as refreshing as it is astonishing, the conclusion that these boasted qualities do not exist in modern womanhood. He cries:—

"Why do not Suffragists insist upon the introduction of a higher aesthetic and moral tone, such as we are promised in politics, in the judging of literature, wit and drama? . . . Can they really expect a careless, yet fairly impartial world to believe that thousands of women, satisfied with such a press, entirely indifferent as to its effect on the feminine mind, content with poorer ethical and aesthetical standards than those characterizing men's journals, will make intelligent political voters?"

Women, in fact, care nothing about anything except dress and chatter.

The answer to all this is so apparent that one almost blushes to have to point it out; and yet it appears to be necessary. Did it never occur to the writer of this article, before he started on his irksome task, that the position of what is known as a "lady's paper" is not in any sense comparable to that of the ordinary technical journal and article among men. Dress is, and always will be, as important an element in the life of most women as, say, finance and the technicalities of their profession or their sport is in that of men. When portions of the sermon on the Mount are interspersed in the City columns of *The Times*, and literary graces reveal themselves coyly amid the hideous jargon about bulls and bears in *The Economist*, then, and not till then, will it be fair to judge the moral and aesthetic standard of woman by the pattern plates of the ladies' paper. It may be true that these are "flippant," "trivial," "twaddling," even. Does the author invariably find a high moral standard inculcated and reflected in the specifically masculine portions of a daily paper? His whole argument crumbles to nothing before the simple fact that the journals which he calls "men's journals" are read, as their correspondence columns generally show, quite as much by women as by men. If it were otherwise—if women were indeed a class by themselves, incapable of appreciating the masculine view of the world, needing to have their particularist attitude specially presented in papers of their own—it would, as a matter of fact, be a possible argument against the extension of the suffrage to them. The fact that it is not so is a strong argument in its favour. J. S. HODGSON.

Correspondence.

[*The Men's League is essentially a non-party organization, in which all shades of political opinion are represented. For this reason we feel bound to state that the League is not responsible for the opinions of correspondents.*]

Wise or Unwise?

DEAR SIR,—The question of the advisability of the militant tactics which are carried out by most of the societies which are advocating the enfranchisement of women, still seems as frequent as ever, and perhaps, therefore, a few thoughts upon the matter may be interesting and useful to the readers of this paper.

I think it must be acknowledged by any reasonable person that to judge of the effects of such tactics requires an inside knowledge of the movement, and as nearly all of the societies have followed the example of the first of the militant societies, it must be admitted that the judgment of those capable of gauging the utility of such methods is favourable.

Militant tactics usually aid our cause in two ways. In the

first place such tactics as mock nominations, and the more violent tactics which so often result in the imprisonment of the offenders, concentrate the thoughts of millions of people, many of whom do not of their own accord seek after truth, upon the inequalities which the movement protests against, and there are in this way enlisted a very considerable number of persons who would never in the ordinary course of events have attended a meeting on the matter.

Thousands of educated and uneducated persons, whom, without discourtesy, I may perhaps describe as "political nonentities," make up their minds to go to hear "Them Suffragettes," and a very large proportion of these (most of whom have never realized that there is a part which we should perform in life besides that of our own home and business) hear an educative address, which shows them the injustices which women suffer and the evil results to the community as a whole. At the same time their attention is directed to society in its wider aspects, which, as all experienced politicians know, is in its despicable state chiefly because of the ignorance caused by the apathetic self-centred life of the majority of the people.

Militant tactics are, in fact, an invitation to think, and the means by which hundreds of thousands of people have been induced to think of the question of Women's Franchise.

"Ardent minds among us, inspired by some deep conviction, are apt to see things out of their true perspective," said the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and it must be frankly acknowledged (as could only be expected) that instances have occurred in which the result from a militant movement has, in the opinions of many fully capable of judging, been injurious; but what of that?

In my opinion the matter of womanly or unwomanly conduct, or of loss or gain, is a matter for the consideration of the individuals whom they concern and the society they represent.

True freedom of opinion must to a large extent include also freedom of propagandist methods, and although that does not mean that any laws, however, silly or unjust, may be safely violated, it should mean that irrespective of sex, such violation should be punished as the case fairly demands, and not with the prejudice of opposition, which has played its part in the sentences on Suffragettes.

To sum up this side of the case, let me say to all anti-militants that the majority of people, including myself, who now, in the Men's League or one of the other societies, are actively working for this cause, directly or indirectly began to think about the matter, because of the publicity such unusual methods had produced.

It has proved, and will, I feel certain, still prove the most useful of the propagandist tools, but as a useful tool it should be very carefully taken care of, and there are instances where it would have been better in the tool-box than in use.

Against no Government is it fair to levy unmerited abuse, and some speakers, in my opinion, do harm by too extravagant phrases; but no Government can reasonably expect to obtain the support of the followers of a movement, even though it be presumably friendly, until it officially supports the movement in question.

It is therefore, as I pointed out in this paper on March 5th, quite consistent to oppose the present Government, and even to oppose any of its candidates who are personally in favour of the movement.

But although it is, I consider, almost invariably a bad policy to adopt any tactics which have not right strongly on their side, yet it is not always wise to adopt that policy when another one, more popular and yet right, can be used.

I would suggest, therefore, that the different societies should carefully consider if, under certain circumstances, it would not be best to take, as some of the societies have taken, a non-party policy.

In conclusion, perhaps it would be as well to remark that whilst, as I trust I have clearly shown, I generally and strongly favour militant tactics, I am equally strongly in favour of the non-party constitution of the Men's League, for I feel that no man who has conscientiously followed in detail and supported the efforts of any party, can reasonably be expected to become a "Oneite reformer." H. M. THEEDAM.

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